

AN EXAMINATION OF UNITED METHODIST CLERGY

by

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ABSTRACT

AN EXAMINATION OF UNITED METHODIST CLERGY

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Research on occupational sex segregation and the gender wage gap has consistently shown differences between male and female workers with regards to both position and salary with males segregated in higher positions within companies and accruing higher salaries than females even in similar positions. Two primary explanations have emerged to explain these differences. Supply-side explanations, such as those put forth by economists, assume that the desires of male and female workers are different thus creating women's disadvantaged work positions. Demand-side explanations, such as those examined in queuing theory, postulate that those in charge of hiring are biased towards male workers creating advantages for men and disadvantages for women.

This study addresses two questions. Do male and female clergy in the United Methodist Church differ in regards to salary, church resources, and position? Do clergywomen feel inequality exists between men and women clergy and how do they explain the inequality? The research examines a sample of United Methodist clergy to determine whether they have significant differences in salary, church resources, and occupational position along gender lines. By relying on data released by the United Methodist Church, this study presents a model to determine if differences exist while controlling for measures typically used by economists. In addition, the study attempts to determine whether supply-side or demand-side explanations are more relevant explanations for gender differences in the clergy career through the eyes of ten clergywomen in the United Methodist Church.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The entry of women into ministry marks one of the most radical changes in American religion in the twentieth century. In recent decades, women in Protestant denominations have entered ministry in increasing numbers (McDuff and Mueller 2002). The United Methodist Church (UMC) has been ordaining women since 1956, twenty or more years before many of its denominational counterparts, but the largest contingent of women entering ordained ministry in the UMC has been since 1970 (Chaves 1996). The number of women entering seminary each year has begun to outweigh the number of men (Zikmund, Lummis, and Chang 1998). However, the acceptance of women clergy has not been uncontested, and prior research consistently finds a gap between male and female clergy in regards to the types of churches served and salary (McDuff 2001). Prior research focused on what many of the authors call the “first generation” of women clergy: those who entered the career in the 1970s (Sullins 2000). However, an examination of those in the second and even third generation of women clergy is in order.

1.1 Research Question

While prior research has included UMC clergy (Zikmund, et al.1998; Royle 1987), none of the studies located included a large sample, and the research was done prior to 1999. Research today is able to focus on the second and third generations of

women clergy. The two research questions asked in this study are: Do male and female clergy in the United Methodist Church differ in regards to salary, church resources, and position? Do clergywomen feel inequality exists between men and women clergy and how do they explain the inequality? This study includes a large sample (n=1000) of male and female UMC clergy and attempts to examine differences between men and women clergy in regards to salary, church resources, and position. In addition, ten UMC clergywomen have been interviewed in order to examine if occupational differences between men and women clergy exist and why they exist through the eyes of those who are in the career.

1.2 Justification for Research

This study attempts to make three main contributions to prior research. First, it assesses whether previous research on gender differences in clergy careers applies to the UMC, a denomination with a longer history of ordaining women than its counterparts. Prior research shows a great disparity in the types of churches men and women serve, a gap in salary, and the types of positions given to male and female clergy in several of the denominations (Chang 2001; Chang and Bompadre 1999; Konieczny and Chaves 2000; Sullins 2000; Zikmund, et al. 1998). Thus, this study examines the differences between male and female clergy with regards to salary, church resources, and position within the UMC.

The different emphases of economic theorists and sociological theorists have created some confusion regarding occupational sex segregation. The greatest controversy has focused on whether occupational sex segregation and the gender wage

gap can be attributed to choices by workers (supply-side) or discrimination by supervisors and the market (demand-side). Therefore, in the qualitative interviews, this study attempts to observe how clergywomen feel about any differences that they believe to exist between male and female clergy in the United Methodist Church specifically focusing on questions relating to two differing approaches to occupational sex segregation: the supply-side explanations of economic theories and the demand-side explanations of sociological theories. For the supply-side explanations, the study looks at two predominant economic viewpoints: human capital theory and the theory of compensating differentials. For the demand-side explanations, queuing theory is utilized. Finally, much of the previous research that has been conducted on clergy has included only the first generation of female clergy (those ordained prior to 1980). This study includes women in the second and third generations of women ordained.

The literature review examines prior research on clergy men and women and differences the researchers found in regards to salary, church resources, and position. In addition, the two approaches to occupational sex segregation, supply-side explanations and demand-side explanations, are reviewed. Finally, an overview of the United Methodist Church is completed in order to ensure understanding of the hierarchy, structure and hiring practices.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Reskin and Roos (1990) conducted research in the 1980s on women's entry into male occupations. They found that while women have made inroads in multiple occupations previously reserved for men, a consistent pattern of gender inequality persists (Reskin and Roos 1990). The clergy career is one in which women are gaining in numbers. Research has shown, however, that women face an uphill battle in regards to the clergy occupation (Zikmund, et al 1998).

This literature review examines previous research on inequality that exists within the clergy career in regards to salary, church resources, and position. In addition, the literature review presents two opposing views regarding gender inequality in organizations: supply-side reasons using the economic explanations of human capital theory and the theory of compensating differentials and demand-side explanations using queuing theory. In the final section, a review of the hierarchy of the United Methodist Church is presented. Previous studies have suggested that female clergy in the United Methodist Church possibly experience less gender inequality than their denominational counterparts because of the structure of the system in which they work (Zikmund, et al 1998). However, it is reasonable to expect, based on the previous studies, gender inequality will still persevere.

2.1 Prior Research on Gender Inequality in Clergy Careers

Previous research on denominations other than the UMC shows a clear pattern of gender inequality in clergy careers (Chang 2001; Chang and Bompadre 1999; Chang and Perl 1999; Konieczny and Chaves 2000; Perl and Chang 2000; Sullins 2000; Zikmund, et al. 1998). Women clergy often work in churches that have fewer financial resources (Albee 2000; McDuff 2001). In addition, women are less likely to be promoted, have lower levels of job prestige, and earn lower salaries than their male counterparts (Nesbitt 1997; Zikmund, et al 1998).

2.1.1 Salary

The first measure of women's disadvantaged positions in clergy occupations employed in prior research is salary. Zikmund, et al. (1998) examined wage differences between male and female clergy, and found women earned 9 percent less than male clergy, controlling for church size, position held, age, experience, and education. Nesbitt (1997) found that in the Episcopal Church there is a consistent salary differential of 15 to 20 percent between male and female clergy. The research found that in a combination of other denominations, women were compensated anywhere from 13 to 20 percent less than their equally trained male counterparts (Nesbitt 1997). However, previous research that included United Methodist clergy found that UMC female clergy were more likely to have full-time job placements and higher salaries than other denominations (Zikmund, et al. 1998). While this is an important comparison, the research found that when compared to their male counterparts within

the United Methodist Church, UMC clergywomen were paid less on average for the same position (Royle 1987).

2.1.2 Church Resources

Churches with more resources such as a substantial budget and more members are typically considered more desirable jobs for clergy (Konieczny and Chaves 2000). Larger congregations, more often than not, will allow the pastor more resources with which to work. A church with multiple staff members, a large pool of volunteers from the congregation, and little monetary struggles afford pastors the luxury of delegation (Konieczny and Chaves 2000). Therefore, much of the previous research focuses on the size of churches female clergy serve. Research finds that female clergy are most often assigned to smaller congregations with fewer financial resources (Albee 2000; Konieczny and Chaves 2000; Lehman 1985; McDuff 2001).

McDuff's (2001) study of the United Church of Christ and the Christian Church, finds that female clergy are much more likely than male clergy to serve either small, rural churches or churches with declining or older populations. In addition, Albee (2000) conducted a case study on a female pastor in Millersburg, Missouri; this pastor served three churches, and Albee notes that the pastor's churches averaged attendance from eight to twenty-two each Sunday. Lehman (1985) finds that the churches in which women clergy serve "appear to be small, struggling churches in economically sluggish communities" (240).

Larger congregations also allow the pastor to have access to a larger, more permanent staff with more full-time subordinates on whom the pastor can rely for

support. Female clergy are over represented in churches with financial troubles and churches that have no full-time staff. When there are other staff members present, female-headed congregations are also more subject to frequent turnover in staff than male-headed congregations (Konieczny and Chaves 2000). In addition to size, the wealth of the congregants affects the church budget and resources. Female pastors are substantially less likely to serve churches with a high proportion of wealthy members. Konieczny and Chaves' (2000) study finds that in their sample of churches with wealthy congregants, only 2% are led by female clergy.

2.1.3 Position

Job position and promotion opportunities within the occupation is another area in which women clergy fare worse than men clergy (Albee 2000; Charlton 2000; Chaves 1996; Konieczny and Chaves 2000; McDuff 2001; Nesbitt 1993; Nesbitt 1997). The most consistent finding in previous research is that female clergy, on average, hold much lower status positions than male clergy. Chang and Bompadre (2000) find that significantly more women served in the less prestigious, non-parish positions in which they were not leading a congregation, and significantly more men served in the parish positions. Parish positions are those where the work primarily is done within a congregational setting. Non-parish positions are those working outside of the congregational context, including prison ministry, hospital chaplains, or missionaries (Chang and Bompadre 2000).

The gender disparity is especially evident in churches with large congregations and multiple pastors (i.e. senior pastor and multiple associate pastors). Women in these

churches are far more likely than their male counterparts to serve as a lower-level pastor with less occupational prestige and less likelihood of promotion (Nesbitt 1997). Furthermore, Perl and Chang (2000) find that female clergy with an M.Div and higher are still excluded from the higher paying senior pastor positions. The women interviewed in Charlton's (2000) study believe that, even today, a glass ceiling exists for clergywomen that is difficult to penetrate. The United Methodist Church has historically placed more women in senior pastor positions than the other denominations, most likely the result of its appointment system being led by officials in the church rather than the local congregation. However, in Nesbitt's (1997) interviews, female clergy in the United Methodist Church still complained of a "good ol' boy system" in which men were favored to serve as senior pastors, especially of the larger and wealthier churches (87).

This study will examine empirical data to determine if differences exist between male and female clergy in the United Methodist Church in regards to salary, church resources, and position. If the quantitative data reveal differences between male and female clergy, the following two theories offer possible explanations for those differences.

2.2 Supply-Side Explanations for Occupational Sex Segregation

Supply-side explanations of occupational sex segregation and the gender wage gap focus on characteristics and decisions of the individual workers and their preferences regarding work. These theories argue that the differences in qualifications,

desires, and interests between men and women contribute to the gap that is frequently noted between men and women's careers (Marini 1989).

Most of the research in this area has been done in the field of economics. Two major theories that have emerged are human capital theory and the theory of compensating differentials. In economics, human capital is defined as a commodity; as humans, we have capabilities and skills (coming from our natural talent, training, or education) that we utilize in the work environment, which in turn contribute to the economy. Human capital theory argues that education and training are the most important investments in human capital and men have more human capital than women contributing to a wage gap that favors men (Becker 1985). The theory of compensating differentials asserts that workers must be rewarded for the disagreeable parts of a job and men are more likely to take "disagreeable" jobs while women are more likely to choose jobs with flexible schedules and pleasant working conditions because they are more conducive to raising children (Okamoto and England 1999). Therefore, men are paid more than women (Filer 1985).

These two theories' application for women's disadvantaged positions in the labor force more generally have been dominant in explaining supply-side reasons for why women and men have differences in their careers. I summarize the major propositions of these two theories in relation to occupational sex segregation below.

According to the major propositions of human capital theory and the theory of compensating differentials, women spend more time raising children and taking care of a family, and, therefore, look for flexible, and even part-time, jobs that will be more

conducive to this lifestyle (Becker 1985; Polachek 1981). For women, family obligations impact career choices the most. Human capital theory argues that as a result of their family concerns, women who plan to have children want jobs that have high starting wages and low levels of wage depreciation. The high starting wages allow women to maximize their earnings before having their child. Then, once they have their child(ren) and leave the labor force, the low levels of wage depreciation minimize the consequences of their labor force exit. If they intend to remain in the labor market after bearing children, they desire jobs with flexible schedules so they can respond to family circumstances as needed.

After the career choice is made, “responsibility for child care, food preparation, and other household activities...prevents the earnings of women from rising more rapidly” (Becker 1985:S35). Polachek (1981) argued that if women would have a fuller commitment to the labor force, their representation in “menial occupations” would decrease by more than 25%. Men choose occupations that have high depreciation of human capital, and, thus, higher wages. Consequently, men are located in jobs with higher depreciation and higher wages while women are primarily located in jobs with lower depreciation and lower wages (Polachek 1981).

The theory of compensating differentials is related to human capital theory. However, while human capital theory argues that wages must motivate workers to invest in their careers, the theory of compensating differentials proposes that the rewards of the job that are not wage-related must balance with the salary that is paid to the worker. Many jobs require difficult working conditions, and, thus, they must pay

their workers higher wages. Jobs with non-monetary rewards such as flexible working time and comfortable working conditions are able to pay less because workers are more willing to take them without higher wages. Thus, the theory argues, women would prefer to have the non-monetary rewards in exchange for a position that is conducive to bearing the responsibility of raising children. These rewards contribute to gender differentials in salary and position (Ehrenberg and Smith 1987, Filer 1985).

It is important to note that several sociological studies have called the major propositions of human capital theory and the theory of compensating differentials into question. Glass (1990) asked whether the jobs women choose would be more flexible and conducive to raising a family, and she found that women tend to “predominate in occupations that are more difficult, less flexible, and have worse promotion policies” (792). England’s (1982) study also demonstrated problems with supply-side explanations in wage disparity between men and women. England’s (1982) study found that depreciation and appreciation of wages is the same regardless of whether they are in female dominated or male dominated occupations. In addition, human capital theory expects that women that have non-continuous work history would be the most likely group to experience occupational sex segregation. However, England (1982) found that occupational sex segregation does not vary with all women regardless of their work history demonstrating that it does not matter whether women choose female dominated or male dominated positions.

England's (1984) study finds that female dominated and male dominated jobs have a relatively similar wage drop for time spent out of the labor force, women’s

starting wages are not higher than men's, and women would have higher lifetime earnings if they were in male occupations. Thus, England's (1984) findings contest human capital theory's assertion that in order to take full advantage of earning potential, women would choose jobs with high starting wages and low appreciation and depreciation of wage. Rosenfeld and Spenner (1992) included variables such as marital status and number of children in their study and found that these variables had little impact on whether women moved to predominately male jobs or stayed in predominately female jobs.

Ross and Mirowsky's (1996) study included a representative sample of over 1,000 and found that women do not find non-monetary rewards more appealing than monetary rewards. On the contrary, they found that women were just as motivated by monetary rewards as men. Finally, women were as likely as men to choose jobs with less non-monetary reward and higher pay if given the opportunity. The authors found no reason to believe the compensating differentials argument (Ross and Mirowsky 1996).

McDuff and Mueller (1999) examine the theory of compensating differentials. They argue that women clergy are just as satisfied with their positions as men clergy are because of the social support that is given by the congregation. The theory of compensating differentials argues that women do value support, and that is one of the reasons they will take lower paying jobs. However, while the study concluded that women clergy do receive more social support than male clergy, the researchers concluded that women clergy did not *value* the support any more than men clergy. Therefore, the researchers could not posit this as a reason for women clergy's likelihood

of lower salary, lower position, and fewer resources with which to work (McDuff and Mueller 1999).

No other studies directly test the two economic theories; however, some studies indirectly test human capital theory and the theory of compensating differentials and do not lend support to either theory in explaining the process of women's disadvantaged position in the clergy. McDuff and Mueller (2002) in line with both economic theories, hypothesized that female clergy would be less interested in power or money than male clergy. Typically, women enter the clergy as a second career and often hope to obtain spiritual fulfillment and be true to their calling rather than making money or being powerful. This nonmonetary reward, it was hypothesized, would mean more to them than their wages. However, the researchers discovered that female clergy were just as interested in money and power as their male counterparts in the ministry. Therefore, McDuff and Mueller's (2002) findings do not support explanations of the two economic theories for occupational segregation.

Zikmund, et al. (1998) attempted to discern whether women were trapped in lower positions because of their more demanding family situations and found very little difference between the jobs and tracks of clergy women with children and clergy women without. While they were not specifically testing the tenets of human capital theory or the theory of compensating differentials, the results of their study do not support the claims of either theory.

While the supply-side, economic theories of occupational sex segregation have not been utilized for the study of male and female clergy in the UMC, they may be

relevant to a study of United Methodist clergy. Royle (1987) argues that female clergy in the United Methodist Church may have more of a chance of equality than other denominations because of the hierarchical appointment system and the fact that women have been allowed ordination for longer than other denominations. Therefore, if this study finds that there are persistent differences in salary, church resources, and position, human capital theory and the theory of compensating differentials could provide some explanation. The quantitative analyses will utilize common economic measures such as service, tenure, and full or part-time work status. In addition, the interviews with female clergy specifically ask questions related to these two theories in order to glean any insight regarding why female clergy have chosen their career and what impact their families have on their occupational decisions. However, the biggest problem with only focusing on supply-side influences is that no attention is paid to the factors other than worker characteristics such as supervisor preferences and structural conditions of the job (Marini 1989). This is addressed with the demand-side explanation presented by queuing theory.

2.3 Demand-Side Explanations for Occupational Sex Segregation

Reskin and Roos (1990) present a theoretical model which utilizes a dual-queuing process: “labor queues order groups of workers in terms of their attractiveness to employers, and job queues rank jobs in terms of their attractiveness to workers” (29). Labor queues are related to supervisors; the supervisors will hire from as high in the labor queue as possible, and, in most cases, the highest workers will be men. Reskin and Roos (1990) explain that when this happens, the labor queue becomes a gender queue.

Job queues are related to workers. Jobs are ranked in terms of attractiveness, and workers want the highest jobs in the job queue as possible.

In case studies Reskin and Roos (1990) examine eleven occupations experiencing increases in women employees since the 1970s. In most of the cases, women's inroads into these occupations were explained by a decrease in salary and occupational prestige that resulted in men's exit from these careers. In addition, equal opportunity laws have forced some employers to hire women. Finally, there was a consistent finding that women were often tracked into lower positions within an occupation and often came across a glass ceiling that prevented promotion to the higher levels of the occupation (Reskin and Roos 1990).

Reskin and Roos (1990) focus on the job queue and feminization of organizations. Employers prefer to hire men before women unless they are unable to do so, such as in cases where men have fled the occupation. Many of the case studies revealed that men were leaving the occupations in large numbers; they simply saw the occupation as less desirable than it once had been. As men begin to leave an organization, employers are unable to fill their positions with their most desired candidates. Therefore, they must turn to other types of workers. Women find that the open positions are more desirable than many of the positions that had previously been available. Therefore, the job moves up in the job queue for women. However, the case studies revealed that even when women were given positions in previously unattainable jobs, they were often tracked into lower positions within the organization. When women were able to reach higher levels in the organization, such as management positions, the

studies found that they felt pressure to adhere to their male colleagues' regulations. The women in higher positions were not allies to the women below because they were afraid for their own jobs (Reskin and Roos 1990).

In many denominations studied, the church congregation is primarily responsible for the hiring of ministers. Much of the research tries to ascertain why female clergy are rated lower by congregations in the labor queue. Often there is "loose coupling" between the formal policies of the church and the actual occurrences (Albee, 2000; Chaves, 1996; Konieczny and Chaves, 2000; Lummis and Nesbitt, 2000; Sullins, 2000). Most of the research suggests that many congregation members are against the ordination of female clergy because they do not deem the ministry as an appropriate role for women (Chaves 1996; Lehman 1985).

Sullins (2000) compares the local congregation to a family structure; the church family is a crucial part of the church's identity, and the congregation sees the head of the church as needing to be a male, thus it can often be difficult for a woman to come into the congregation and be an effective leader. The congregation defines being a clergy member as men's work. Lehman (1985) states that the resistance to female clergy often has been a religious issue, but it could also be the tendency "to be prejudiced in general and to dislike departures from traditional sex roles in particular" (81). He argues that many individuals simply view males as the "kind of people" that should serve in the ministerial role (Lehman 1985:81).

While the denominations studied in this research did ordain women, and had for some time, actual acceptance by the local congregation was more of a problem than

changing the formal rules because female clergy were placed so low in the labor queue by the “employers”, the congregation. However, in denominations with complicated hierarchical structures, such as the United Methodist Church, the local church has no part in the placement of the pastor in their church. Although clergy and congregations have some impact by voicing their concerns and applying pressure when they are unhappy, the major decision-making in the United Methodist Church falls on the District Superintendent and Bishop. Thus, women clergy are susceptible to the preferences of a few people, rather than the congregation as a whole.

Reskin (1993) describes gatekeepers that treat individuals differently based on an aversion to one group (i.e. females) that is not based on performance. For clergy in the United Methodist Church, the DS and Bishop may function as gatekeepers.

Stinchcombe (1990) examined different occupations to determine how supervisors evaluate performance, and he found that when the performance cannot be clearly measured, supervisors often rate an individual’s job performance on factors such as character and background. Zikmund, et al. (1998) argue that evaluations performed with unclear criteria disadvantage clergy women because “comparisons are more likely to be made with the dominant image associated with clergy, which is male” (75).

Consistent with the previous research, Chang and Bompadre (2000) found a decline in the prestige of the clergy occupation. However, they argue that the entry of women into the clergy occupation is a symptom of the occupational decline rather than the cause as the occupation began to experience wage deterioration in the 1960s. This was prior to many denominations’ approval of ordination of women. As the decline

continues, women must be placed into positions that men previously filled. However, Reskin and Roos (1990) theorize that if there are men available, the women will be tracked into positions with lower status, pay, and promotion opportunities within the same organization. If this study finds differences between male and female clergy in the United Methodist Church, queuing theory could provide another explanation regarding the differences. As with human capital theory, the interviews with female clergy specifically inquire about queuing theory's postulations. The next section will examine the hierarchy of the United Methodist Church as this is integral to examining differences between UMC male and female clergy.

2.4 The United Methodist Church Hierarchy

The United Methodist Church has a complicated hierarchical structure that must be explained in order to understand gender differences between the clergy. Figure 1.0 provides a visual depiction of the UMC church structure. The organization of the church is carefully explained in the *Book of Discipline* of the United Methodist Church (Olson 2000). The local church is the base of the hierarchical structure. The leadership in the local church consists of at least one clergy member who serves as the Senior Pastor. Large churches often require more than one clergy member; those individuals serve as associate pastors. The associate pastor is lower on the organizational hierarchy, and he or she typically has less salary and prestige than the senior pastor. Each local church is located within a district. The district superintendent (DS) is a clergy member in charge of a district. All clergy within the district report to the DS. The districts range

in size based on the population, but they usually include 40-50 churches. Each district is part of a conference.

The conference is responsible for enforcing rules and approving amendments to the *Book of Discipline* (Olson 2000). Each conference is led by a Bishop and his or her cabinet which is appointed by the Bishop. The cabinet consists of 10-12 members in charge of different responsibilities throughout the conference such as finances or leadership. The Bishop makes the decisions regarding the placement of each minister in his or her conference. Each Bishop makes up the Council of Bishops which acts as a legislative branch for the denomination.

Clergy in the United Methodist Church do not interview with the local church for a position. The Bishops, along with input from the district superintendents, are responsible for appointments of the clergy to the local churches within their conference. The United Methodist Church works with an itinerant system. When John Wesley began the Methodist Church, the movement needed to spread, and so he appointed circuit preachers to serve for short periods of time and then itinerate (move) so that the church could expand. The church was able to go to any place where people settled (Olson 2000). The United Methodist Church has kept this itinerant system. This means that clergy appointments to the local church can last anywhere from 3-10 years, but the system is designed so that the tenure is relatively short. Because of this itinerancy, ministers must often move large distances in order to take their next appointment. While employment is guaranteed, staying in the same geographical area is not.

The UMC clergy are required to have or be working on a Master's of Divinity (M.Div.) degree in order to serve a local church. They are ordained first as Deacon in Full Connection (DFC) when they have completed a requisite amount of the M.Div. After the M.Div. is completed, and required hours in the field have been served, clergy are ordained as Elder in Full Connection (EFC) (Olson 2000).

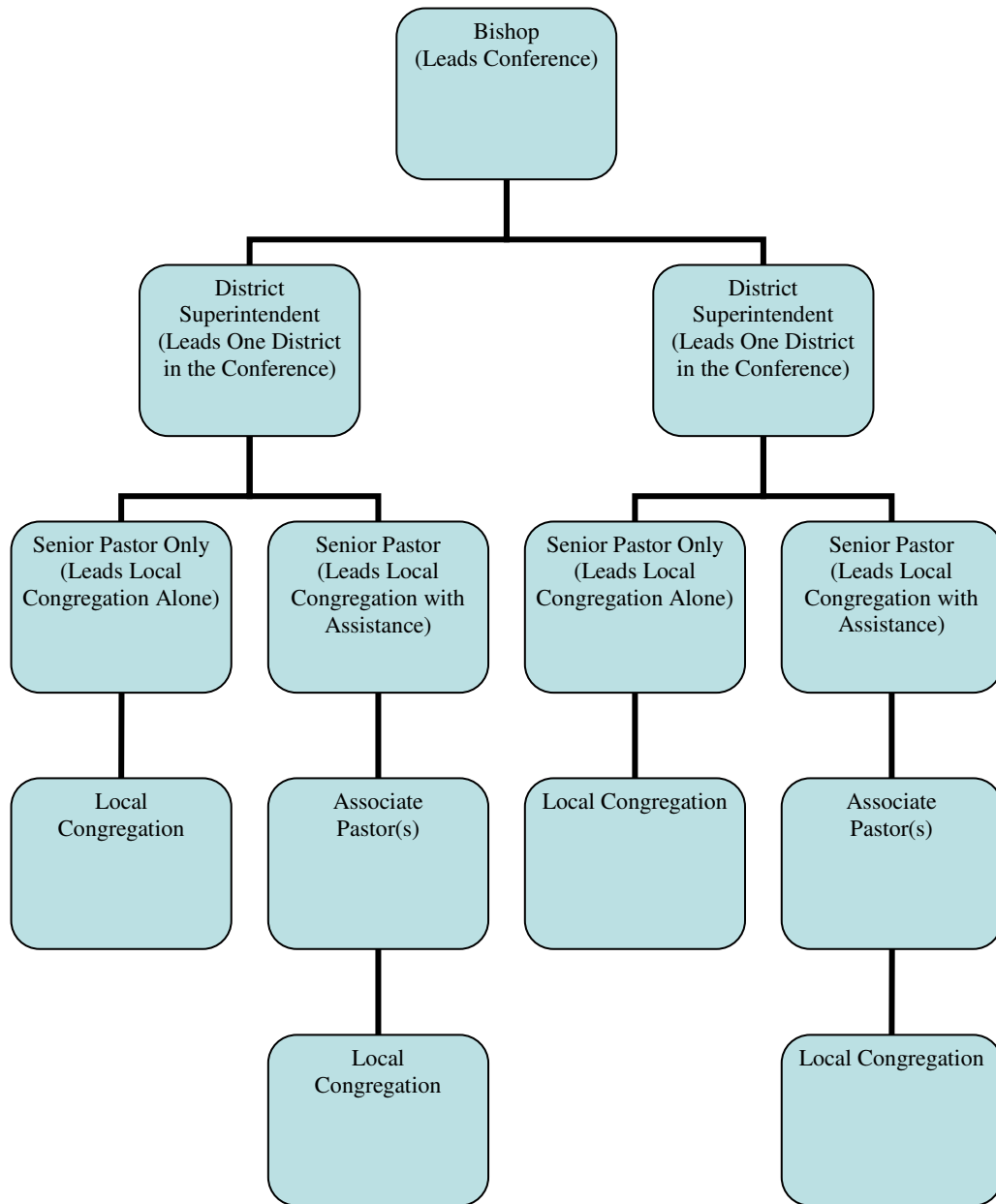


Figure 2.1. United Methodist Church Conference Hierarchy

2.5 Quantitative Hypotheses

Prior research indicates that women clergy are worse off than their male counterparts in many of the denominations examined. The implication, therefore, is that United Methodist female clergy will not differ significantly from their denominational counterparts on which research has focused. Based on the prior scholarship on gender and work more broadly and denominations more generally, I propose the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis #1: Female pastors earn lower yearly salary than similarly qualified male pastors.

Hypothesis #2: Female clergy are more likely to be serving churches with lower church resources than similarly qualified male pastors.

Hypothesis #3: Female clergy are more likely to be associate pastors than similarly qualified male pastors.

Hypothesis #4: Gender differences in yearly salary, clergy position, and church resources will persist after controlling for economic measures, such as years of service.

2.6 Qualitative Themes

Research on occupational sex segregation has two emergent themes: supply-side explanations which attribute women's disadvantaged position in the workplace to choices made by women workers (Filer 1985; Polachek 1981) and demand-side explanations which focus on supervisor's preferences to account for the lack of inroads

made by women in occupations (Reskin and Roos 1990). Both explanations predict the same outcome but for different reasons.

Based on these two explanations of occupational sex segregation, the study attempts to discuss gender differences in the careers of male and female clergy and get a first-hand report of clergywomen's reasons for these differences, if they exist. I examine their feelings about their supervisors drawing on past research on demand-side explanations. Focusing on the theory set forth by supply-side explanations, I also discuss the impact of their choices on their career path.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

3.1 Data

The analyses use both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative analyses identify whether or not statistically significant differences exist between men and women clergy in regards to salary, church resources, and position. The qualitative analyses reveal women clergy's perceptions of differences between the appointments of men and women clergy in the United Methodist Church and their reasoning behind these differences. These interviews provide insight on how women clergy feel about their careers.

The data for the quantitative portion of the analyses come from public journals published yearly by the United Methodist Church. The 2006 journal from each of the six conferences of the UMC in the state of Texas was obtained for this study. Each journal contains clergy appointment information for every church within the conference as well as information about each clergy member including tenure and salary as well as marital status. The journals also publish data about every church including the overall church budget. The data in these journals are collected from the local churches each year at an annual conference. In addition to the data obtained in the journals, I have completed in-depth interviews with ten female pastors in order to illustrate their experiences. Next, I outline my sampling design and measurements for the quantitative

portion of the analyses followed by design and measurements for the qualitative portion.

3.2 Quantitative Study

3.2.1 Sample

The population is United Methodist clergy in the state of Texas in 2006. The UMC of Texas consists of 3,625 ministers, 77.7 percent men and 22.3 percent women (GFCA 2006). Using proportionate stratified random sampling, stratified by gender, the final sample size is n=1,000 with 777 men and 223 women. The sample does not reflect the U.S. population of United Methodist clergy, but it is representative of all UMC clergy in the state of Texas.

3.2.2 Measures

The dependent variables in the study are annual salary, church resources, and position.

Salary: The variable of salary is measured by combining the annual salary of each pastor in the study. The churches are only required to publish salary data on the senior pastor. Several of the conferences published all salary information, but several did not. Salary information was reported for 784 pastors (755 senior pastors and 29 associate pastors). Therefore, there are 216 missing cases. After running descriptive statistics on the variables, income was significantly skewed. Therefore, income is logged (using the natural log) in order to prevent skewness in the distribution.

Church resources: Church resources are measured with the annual budget of the local church as reported in the conference journal. As with the clergy salary, there was

significant skewness in the distribution after running the descriptive statistics.

Therefore, the dollar amount is also logged (with the natural log) in order to prevent skewness. In both salary and resources, it is conventional to log the dependent variable because it is believed that the effect on Y for given changes of X is not linear (Perl and Chang 2000).

Clergy position: When choosing the sample, I used the list of clergy currently serving in a local church. Therefore, each clergy member in the study is either a senior pastor or an associate pastor. Clergy position is a binary measure in which senior pastor is coded 1 and associate pastor is coded 0.

Gender: Gender is the key independent variable to test the hypotheses. It is coded as female; females are represented with 1 and males are represented with 0.

Economic theory measures: This study is including independent variables in the analyses which are commonly used by economists when studying gender differences in the workplace. I include four economic measures in this study. Service is a continuous measure operationalized by the number of years the clergy member has been ordained. Tenure is a continuous measure defined by the number of years the clergy member has served at his/her current church. The variable full-time is a binary measure in which full-time pastors are coded as 1 and part-time pastors are coded as 0. Marital status, coded as married, is a binary measure in which married is coded as 1 and non-married (widowed, divorced or never married) is coded as 0.

The conference journals do not include data on clergy's education level. Prior to 1996, all clergy in the United Methodist Church had to complete or be currently

working on a Master's of Divinity in order to be ordained, and all clergy in the sample are ordained. Therefore, as it is not reported in the journals, education is not included as an independent variable; future research, if able to locate clergy educational records, should include this variable.

The analyses of salary and church resources use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Regression is run on salary including only gender as the independent variable to see what impact, if any, being female has on salary. The OLS regression for church resources first controls for gender and clergy position in order to account for the fact that churches with associate pastors will have higher budgets than those without. The second regression on both salary and church resources includes the economic measures while also controlling for gender. In addition, the regression analysis on salary includes the church resources and position as control variables because these two variables have an impact on the pastor's salary. By in large, senior pastors at larger churches tend to make significantly more money than their associate counterparts (Zikmund, et al.1998). The analysis of position uses binary logistic regression run first controlling for gender to determine whether major differences exist between male and female clergy in regards to position. The economic measures are added to the second logistic regression model to determine whether or not being female still has an effect.

3.3 Qualitative Study

3.3.1 Sample

Participants in the study were chosen from the state of Texas. The women were selected in a snowball sample beginning with a minister that I knew. The women in the

study range from 30 years old to 72 years old, and they are in different stages of their careers. Five of the women serve as associate pastor while three are senior pastors. One is now retired but previously served as a hospital chaplain and one serves in a mission position outside the local church, but they are still under the jurisdiction of a conference with a similar supervisory situation as the other eight women.

3.3.2 Interviews

The interviews were semi-structured and face-to-face. The interviews focused on four major areas: the reasoning behind becoming a minister, family struggles that existed in their years of ministry, feelings about their supervisors as well as their feelings about being a woman in ministry. These questions were related to the two theories described in the literature review, the two economic theories and queuing theory, in hopes of gaining some perspective on the usefulness of these two theories from the point of view of the ten women in the study. The qualitative analysis is not testing hypotheses but rather searching for new questions to ask about women in ministry.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

4.1 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Univariate descriptive statistics for all of the variables included in the model as well as means comparisons by sex for all variables are listed in table 4.1. The column on the far left shows the variables included in this study. The three dependent variables, salary, senior pastor, and church resources are listed first. The church resources of the senior pastors only (n= 755) and the associate pastors only (n= 244) are listed next. These variables are followed by the economic measures of full-time, married, service, and tenure. Finally, female is the key variable used to test the hypotheses. The second column shows means for the continuous variables in the sample. Under each mean, the standard deviation is reported.

The dichotomous variables are reported as percentages in the third column with the standard deviation in parentheses below the percentage. The fourth column shows the means and percentages for each variable for only the males in the sample (the standard deviations are reported below each variable). The fifth column reports means and percentages for each variable for only the females in the sample (the standard deviations are reported below each variable). The far right column report significance values for a means test for each variable between males and females in the sample (F-test for the continuous variables and chi-square test for the dichotomous variables).

The mean salary for men is higher than that of women. This is consistent the prior studies on clergy done by Chang and Bompadre (1999), Konieczny and Chaves (2000), and Zikmund, et al. (1998). Conversely, women have a higher mean for church resources. This is likely explained by the mean scores for position. Men are significantly more likely to be senior pastors than women. So it is likely that church resources might be higher for women because they are serving at churches that can afford at least one associate pastor making the mean of church resources higher for women. Therefore, I also include descriptive statistics on church resources for only the pastors that reported salary information (n=755) as well as only the associate pastors in the study (n= 245).

Among senior pastors, women work in churches with lower resources than men senior pastors. As reported by the means tests, there are significant gender differences in salary and position of the entire sample as well as the church resources of the senior pastors in the study. Men are significantly more likely to be married than women. Women clergy have less human capital in terms of lower mean scores for both years of service (Service) and years at their current church (Tenure). Therefore, when controlling for these variables, human capital and other economic explanations for gender differences in work outcomes among clergy members may find support.

**Table 4.1 Descriptive Statistics (Means and Standard Deviations)
and Differences in Group Means, By Gender (n=1,000)**

Measures	Whole Sample		Male	Female	Gender Differences
	Mean	Percent	(N=777)	(N=223)	
<u>Dependent Variables</u>					
Salary ^a	\$37,108 (28928)		\$38,712 (30434)	\$30,434 (19727)	**
Senior Pastor		76% (0.43)	80% (0.399)	59% (0.493)	***
Church Resources ^b	\$912,756 (1685503)		\$890,276 (1670545)	\$990,289 (1737832)	
Senior Pastor Church Resources ^c	\$438,431 (925,084)		\$484,808 (994,932)	\$218,792 (405,720)	**
Associate Pastor Church Resources ^d	\$2,306,571 (2,467,241)		\$2,459,150 (2587110)	\$2,050,038 (2241779)	
<u>Economic Theory Variables</u>					
Full-time		82% (0.388)	82% (0.388)	82% (0.388)	
Married		87% (0.342)	91% (0.288)	71% (0.453)	***
Service	12.41 (11.17)		13.79 (11.72)	7.61 (7.16)	***
Tenure	4.3 (4.26)		4.56 (4.51)	3.33 (3.08)	***

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Standard Deviations in Parentheses

a- Means based on n= 784 with reported salary data (Men=638 Women=146).

b- Means based on n= 961 with reported church resources data (Men= 745 Women= 216).

c- Means based on n= 755 senior pastors in the study (Men= 623 Women=132).

d- Means based on n= 245 associate pastors in the study (Men= 154 Women= 91).

Table 4.2 reports the correlations of all variables in the model. As expected, salary is positively related to both full time status and church resources. Full time workers are expected to have higher wages than those in part time positions. In addition, churches with higher budget will most likely have higher salaries to pay their pastors. Salary is also moderately correlated with years of service which is also to be expected.

Senior pastor is negatively related to sex; women are more likely to serve as associate pastors according to the correlation.

Table 4.2 Correlations of Variables in the Model

Variable	Salary	Senior Pastor	Resources	Female	Full-time	Married	Service	Tenure
Salary	1	-.017	.593***	-.090**	.457***	.085**	.299***	.006
Senior Pastor		1	.339***	.144***	-.082	-.026	-.094	-.025
Resources			1	-.052	.383***	.106**	.354***	.121***
Female				1	.064	-.208***	-.227***	-.127***
Full-time					1	.064	.154***	-.043
Married						1	.128***	.032
Service							1	.301***
Tenure								1

*** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

4.2 Hypotheses 1 and 4: Salary Analyses

The first hypothesis is that female pastors earn lower annual salary than similarly qualified male pastors. This hypothesis is addressed in the regression analysis of model 1 in Table 4.3. It should be noted that while the descriptive statistics included salary in dollar form, the regression analyses utilize the natural log of salary and church resources. When the statistics for salary and church resources were run, the skewness for each was very high (3.418 and 3.653, respectively). Therefore, to correct for skewness in the distribution, the salary variable and church resources variable are logged (using the natural log). This reduces the influence of outliers in the sample. The results reported here are not substantively different when salary and church resources are not logged.

Model 1, in Table 4.3, is an OLS regression including only sex as the independent variable relating to salary. The coefficient is presented with the standard error below in parentheses. While the coefficient is statistically significant at $p \geq .01$ and negative (-.193) suggesting that women clergy have lower salaries than men clergy, the findings show that even without other variables, sex is not a strong predictor of salary (Beta= -.090). The adjusted R-Squared value is .007 meaning that only 0.7% of the variance in salary is explained by gender of the clergy member

Hypothesis 4 stated that gender differences in yearly salary will persist after controlling for economic measures: marital status, years of service, tenure at the current church, and full or part-time status. In Model 2 of Table 4.3, these variables are added. The adjusted R-Squared for this model is .448 suggesting that 44.8% of the variance in salary is explained when the economic measures are included. Once these measures are added in the model to test the salary portion of hypothesis 4, gender of the clergy member no longer becomes significant. Therefore, while this suggests that female clergy members have lower salaries than their male counterparts due to differences in human capital, the two control variables had more of an impact suggesting that the types of churches and positions that men and women clergy are serving are different.

The regression coefficients for position, full time status, and resources (.466, .449, and .326, respectively) have the strongest relationships to salary and are significant at the $p \geq .01$ level. As tenure and service increase, higher salaries result. Full-time clergy also have higher salaries than those that work part-time. The descriptive statistics show that male clergy have more service years and longer tenure;

therefore, their salaries are higher than the female clergy in the sample. Therefore, I find support for hypothesis 1 but no support for hypothesis 4. However, over fifty percent of the variance in salary is left unexplained by this model. Therefore, there may be effects of unmeasured concepts such as bias by the supervisor that is proposed by Reskin and Roos (1990).

Table 4.3 OLS Coefficients for Regression of Logged Salary on Other Selected Variables (n=784)

Independent Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coefficient	Beta	Coefficient	Beta
Female	-.193** (.076)	-.090	-.052 (.060)	-.024
<u>Economic Theory Variables</u>				
Married			-.14 (.071)	-.005
Tenure			-.016** (.006)	-.029
Service			.006** (.002)	.074
Full-Time			.449*** (.062)	.215
<u>Control Variables</u>				
Senior Pastor			.466*** (.078)	.180
Resources			.326*** (.020)	.555
Constant	10.275 (.033)			
Adjusted R-Squared	.007		.448	

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05
Standard Error in Parentheses

4.3 Hypotheses 2 and 4: Church Resources Analyses

Hypothesis 2 stated that female clergy are more likely to be serving churches with lower yearly budgets than similarly qualified male pastors while hypothesis 4

assumed gender differences in church resources would persist even when controlling for economic measures. The regression analyses show support for hypothesis 2 but no support for hypothesis 4.

The OLS regression addressing hypothesis 2 also includes two models. Model 1 of Table 4.4 reports results of OLS regression of logged church resources on female and senior pastor. I include senior pastor as a control variable in the first model because of the results of the descriptive statistics and means tests that suggest that when looking at only senior pastors, male clergy and female clergy have significant differences in church resources. The negative sign for the gender coefficient indicates that female clergy have less church resources with which to work than their male counterparts (-.367). This difference is statistically significant at the $p \geq .001$ level. However, the adjusted R-Squared is .312 suggesting that only 31.2% of the variance in church resources is explained by gender and position.

Model 2 of Table 4.4 shows results with the economic measures included in the model. This changes the adjusted R-Squared value to .494 meaning that 49.4% of the variance in church resources is explained by adding these measures. Once the economic measures are included in order to test the church resources portion of hypothesis 4, gender of the clergy member is no longer significant. As years of service increase, church resources increase. Full-time clergy also have higher church resources than those who work part-time. The strongest predictor of church resources appears to be senior pastor (Beta= -.584). Compared to associate pastors, those clergy that are senior pastors will have logged church resources that are .584 lower. As stated in the descriptive

statistics section, this is likely due to the fact that churches that can afford one or more associate pastors most likely have higher budgets than those churches with one pastor. Male clergy are more likely to serve as senior pastors and they have, on average, more service years than women. Therefore, the church resources for the male clergy are higher. This suggests that the types of churches men and women clergy are serving when they are senior pastors are very different; clergymen appear to serve better churches overall.

While the regression that controlled for gender and position did show statistically significant differences between male and female clergy in regards to church resources, when controlling for economic measures, the significance of gender is no longer significant, but the model shows that men and women are serving different types of churches. However, there is still over fifty percent of the variation in church resources left unexplained by the economic measures and gender.

**Table 4.4 OLS Coefficients for Regression of
Logged Church Resources on Other Selected Variables (n=961)**

Independent Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coefficient	Beta	Coefficient	Beta
Female	.093 (.126)	-.123	-.116 (.095)	-.030
<u>Economic Theory Variables</u>				
Married			.213 (.114)	.044
Tenure			.019 (.010)	.048
Service			.032*** (.004)	.220
Full-Time			1.351*** (.096)	.326
<u>Control Variables</u>				
Senior Pastor			-2.179*** (.089)	-.584
Constant	12.515 (.060)		9.962 (.155)	
Adjusted R-Squared	.001		.494	
Notes:	*** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05			
Standard Error in Parentheses				

4.4 Hypotheses 3 and 4: Position Analyses

Hypothesis 3 predicted that females are less likely than their male counterparts to serve as associate pastors. Hypothesis 4 stated that even when controlling for economic variables, gender differences in position would persist. The logistic regression shows support for both hypotheses.

Table 4.5 reports the results of logistic regression of position on gender in Model 1. The coefficient (-1.026) says that being female decreases the log odds of being senior pastor by -1.026. This is significant at the .01 level. The percentage change in odds ratio is also significant. Women are 64.9% less likely than men to be a senior

pastor ($b = -1.026$; $[\exp(b) - 1 * 100] = -64.9\%$). Therefore, without other variables in the model, gender has a significant effect on clergy position.

Model 2 of Table 4.5 reports the results of logistic regression of position on the economic variables. Overall, women are less likely to be senior pastors than their male colleagues. Therefore, unlike the previous models, the economic measures did not make a large difference when added. While both service and tenure were significant, their coefficients (.043 and -.167, respectively) do not suggest a strong relationship, and the percent change in odds for both (4.3% and -6.5%, respectively) are also very small. Even when controlling for other factors, women are less likely to be senior pastors than their male counterparts. This lends support to queuing theory's assertion that women are often relegated to lower positions than men within the same organization (Reskin and Roos 1990).

Table 4.5 Logistic Regression of Position on Other Selected Variables (n=1,000)

Independent Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coefficient	% Change in Odds	Coefficient	% Change in Odds
Female	-1.026*** (.163)	-64.1%	-.874*** (.173)	-58.3%
<u>Economic Theory Variables</u>				
Married			.157 (.213)	16.9%
Tenure			-.067*** (.019)	-6.5%
Service			.043*** (.009)	4.3%
Full-Time			-.284 (.202)	-24.8%
Constant	1.398 (.090)		1.281 (.274)	
-2 Log Likelihood	1,075.290		1,046.514	
Nagelkerke R-Squared	.056		.097	

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

4.5 Summary of Quantitative Data

While support for hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 are shown in the OLS and logistic regression models, when the economic variables are added to the models, gender differences were not significant. However, the significance of the control variables suggests that men and women are serving different churches and different positions in their careers. While women clergy are more likely to serve as associate pastors, even when controlling for economic measures, ultimately hypothesis 4 must be rejected.

As I am unable to include measures of queuing theory's propositions in the models due to data constraints, some of the support for the economic theories may be

overestimated. It is possible that the significance of the economic explanations is capturing some of the effects of queuing theory's assumptions.

In the following chapter, I report results of the qualitative analysis which delves deeper into both queuing theory and the economic theories examined in the literature review to determine if clergywomen feel there are significant differences that exist between themselves and their male counterparts, and, if so, why those differences are present.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

I used the open-ended interviews to examine women clergy's perceptions and explanations of differences that exist in the United Methodist Church between men and women clergy. In analyzing the interview data of the ten women, three major themes emerged. The demand-side explanation for occupational sex segregation present in queuing theory is emergent in the first theme. Reskin and Roos (1990) determined the major reason for inequality that exists within occupations is supervisor discrimination. Each of the ten women used the words "good old boy system" to describe the way clergy are appointed to churches in the United Methodist organization. While much of the previous research suggests that the UMC system might be fairer towards women, the women interviewed in this study feel there is bias that exists at the very top that prevents fair assessment of their gifts (Royle 1987, Zikmund, et al. 1998).

The second theme relates to the supply-side, economic explanations for differences between male and female workers. Of the women that were married or had children, they described instances where they had chosen to put family before career and knew this had affected their career trajectory in the United Methodist Church hierarchy.

In the final theme, the women emphasized the damaging effect of itinerancy on their personal lives, families, and the congregations. Each was quick to point out that

itinerancy is not difficult for just the women clergy but also for the men clergy.

Itinerancy is not present in explanations given by the theories; I am presenting it as a challenge to the economic theories and queuing theory. It also provides opportunity for future research.

Table 5.1 summarizes the situations of the women that were interviewed, the highest position they have served in the United Methodist Church, how long they have been ordained, current church size, if they are married or not, and if they have children.

Table 5.1 Summary of Female Clergy Sample

Name	Year Ordained	Highest Position Served	Current Church Size	Marital Status	Children
Linda	1995	Senior Pastor	Small	Married	2
Leah	2005	Associate Pastor	Large	Married	1
Annette	1998	Senior Pastor	Small	Not Married	None
Rebekah	1977	Appointment Beyond the Local Church	N/A	Married	2
Lois	*Not Yet Ordained	Associate Pastor	Very Large	Married	3
Maggie	2001	Associate Pastor	Large	Not Married	3
Rachael	2002	Associate Pastor	Very Large	Married	2
Eve	1986	Senior Pastor	N/A (Retired)	Married	3
Sarah	1996	Associate Pastor	Very Large	Not Married	1
Martha	1993	Senior Pastor	Small	Married	2

*All names have been changed to ensure the confidentiality of the study participants.

**Church Size:

Small: 25-200 Members

Medium: 201-500 Members

Large: 501-1000 Members

Very Large: Over 1000 Members

5.1 Demand Side Explanations: Queuing Theory

In the 1980s, Reskin and Roos (1990) examined eleven occupations that had previously been considered “men’s” occupations but in which women had, on the surface, appeared to make significant gains. The authors concluded that while women had made inroads into these occupations, the numbers did not show the entire story. In examining the data provided by the women in the sample, one theme relating to queuing theory emerged: supervisors in the United Methodist Church, in line with queuing theory, prefer men, but will place women in higher positions when they either run out of qualified men or feel women are more suited to the position because it is deemed “women’s work”. However, the women’s responses still show a marked gender bias by supervisors in the United Methodist Church and agree with Reskin and Roos’ (1990) conclusion that even occupations in which women made significant numerical gains continued to be internally segregated and “the structure of white, male advantage remains largely intact” (320).

5.1.1 Supervisors and Appointments

Unanimously, the women interviewed expressed frustration with what they each coined “the good old boy system” under which they feel the United Methodist Church operates. I asked each woman about her supervisors from the senior pastor (if she has served as an associate) to the District Superintendent (DS) to the Bishop. Many of them agreed that the main reason they were not making great strides in becoming senior pastors was not because of the congregation but the bias that they believe exists in the

placement of women by the supervisors in the United Methodist Church, especially the DS and Bishop.

5.1.1.1 Senior Pastor

Most of the women said their senior pastors have been the most supportive of the three supervisors. Rachael spoke of her senior pastor as a supportive man, “but that being said, there’s a professional relationship there. I can imagine working for someone more concerned with my family...I would say there is room for more support, but I am not feeling a lack”. Maggie also said the most support came from the senior pastor: “I have always felt pretty comfortable even when things didn’t go well. I could go in and sit down and say, ‘I’m having a bad day’ and they would listen”.

When probed on why the senior pastors are supportive of the associate female clergy, many of the women stated that they were the most supported when they were making the senior pastor look good. Maggie said that out of the four senior pastors for whom she has worked, the ones that have been the most accommodating have been those that have realized that their success was hinging on her success. Describing one of the senior pastors, Maggie said, “He was really supportive, but I think that was as much about his success as it was mine. If I did well, and he was my senior pastor, it looked good”.

Martha also expressed that as long as her senior pastor looked good, there was great support for her: “I felt like my senior pastors have honored my gifts; I also felt that I was the gopher girl...I learned early on that as associates, our job is to make our

senior ministers look good. As long as we did that, then we were on their side and in their book”.

Sarah, however, had an example of a time where the senior pastor was less supportive. She was appointed to a church that “did not want women pastors; they believed in the supremacy of the man”. The church came together to ask the Bishop to give her another appointment. I asked if the senior pastor stood up for her, and she replied, “You have to understand that when the pastor is being held ransom by [the church], he was going or I was going. What are you going to do?”

By in large, the interviewees that had served under a senior pastor conveyed a tone of support as long as the senior pastor looked good. This agrees with Reskin and Roos’ (1990) postulation that women are able to do well in occupations where they are in different positions than the men. Women are able to make gains in the organization, but they have different responsibilities than the men, and “women who enter different jobs from those men hold within an occupation pose little threat and elicit little opposition” (Reskin and Roos 1990:57). Therefore, the senior pastor is very willing to be supportive of his associates because they are not threatening, and, if they do a good job, he looks good to his supervisors. Those supervisors, the District Superintendents and Bishops, were the source of the major complaints about the “good old boy” system from the women in the study.

5.1.1.2 District Superintendent

I asked the women how they felt about their relationship with the DS, and most of the women said that the problems with the system seemed to stem from the DS

position in the conference. He/she is the main person that reports to the Bishop on where pastors should be placed next, and the majority of the comments from the women said that the DS relied less on what Rebekah called “gifts and graces” and more on salary and where the ministers, especially the men, should be on the ladder.

Linda described the process of making the appointments and she said she empathized with the difficulty of trying to match pastors with churches: “I don’t envy the Bishop or DS for having to make the appointments...sometimes we are not very understanding of some of those decisions, but there is a lot that goes on that I am sure we don’t see”. Most of the women echoed this sentiment that it must be very difficult to try to appoint ministers to churches without knowing them all that well; however, many expressed that the system was biased towards the male pastors, and the DS had little interest moving women up in the system.

When asked about her DS, Rachael said, “well, I kind of have him in the good old boy category right now, and I don’t think he is supporting me”. She gave an anecdote to illustrate the way her DS treats women and men differently. When I interviewed her, the appointments for the year had just been handed out, and she felt there were two appointments for which she should have been considered. She had expressed interest in both to her DS, but both had gone to younger, male pastors:

This is the first time I have put myself out there. I am almost sorry that I got to this point because I was so happy! But, the two appointments that I looked at...I thought I should have gotten that! But part of it was that two men were appointed in those positions, and they are both young...both of them were ordained a year after I was. Neither has been appointed any longer than I have...So, my eyes have definitely been opened, I am sad to say. What’s really

painful is that it happened all by myself. It wasn't me in a room with a bunch of angry women.

[Associate Pastor, very large church, married with children]

Martha, who has been in ministry much longer than Rachael, had many stories like Rachael's. She mentioned an appointment that was given this year: "With this DS, there is some anger I feel toward him because when a large church became available, he put in a 29 year old man who has been ordained a year rather than a woman that had been ordained 15 years". I asked if that was a common occurrence. She responded that it was, and "that's where women feel so frustrated. They are not even given the option to say yes or no. It's not available to them".

This echoes Reskin and Roos' (1990) assertion that supervisors will hire from as high in the labor queue as possible; the best jobs go to the most preferred workers which, in most cases, are men. The DS's in the United Methodist Church, according to the women in the study, have men much higher in the labor queue, and they turn to women only when they cannot fill positions with men. When they do place women in senior pastor positions, it is usually because they cannot find a man that would take the position. The thought of the DS's, according to Martha, is that they can send women to the smaller churches because the women will go. She told a story of a female clergy friend that had been sent to a degrading church in a bad neighborhood. When the pastor had been there a few months, someone on her Pastor-Parish Relations committee told her that when the DS had come to the committee with the appointment, he told them to take women because "you can get them cheaper". Martha went on to say, "That was the prevailing attitude in the late 1990s; they probably wouldn't be as blatant today. That is

the thought though. That is why my church has had women for 12 years; they can get one cheaper. Men wouldn't go there".

The relationship between the women and their DS was commonly described as unsupportive. Maggie said that she thinks her DS knows her, and he appreciates the ministry that she does, but, "has he ever called and asked about me? No." She went on to say that it is hard to complain as a woman "because it's a good old boy system, and if you're not supportive, you can pretty much assume [the men] are going to band together...there is no one looking out for us". This echoes the sentiment of Reskin and Roos (1990) that sex segregation is collective and not simply one or two individuals. Martha also expressed dissatisfaction with the relationship with her DS. She said women must treat the DS differently than men do. When describing her current DS, Martha said, "he is definitely part of the good old boy system, and I can't fight that...When we meet, we usually talk about him, and I build him up". Sarah said women, especially associates, have little contact with the DS: "If there was a terrible problem, would the DS be my supporter? Not as an underling, no. Especially as a female". There seems to be a coalition that exists between the male DSs and the male pastors. This is likely a result of the two sharing similar background. In addition, as Reskin and Roos (1990) point out, these supervisors could have a personal stake in sex segregation because if they allow the women to gain power, the supervisor's job could eventually be threatened.

However, it does happen that women become District Superintendents. Two of the women have served under a female DS, and I asked if their experiences have been

different. Lois said that she has not had any major conversations with her DS, but she feels very comfortable with her. She went on to say that “we are in an unusual district” with a female DS. Sarah had a different view of the female DS: “For a woman to become a DS, she has to ‘wear the suit’-she has to be the man. She is not the ally any longer”. When probed to see why that is, Sarah said women “don’t band together very well; it is dangerous to be in a flock. They can kill all of you at once”. The female DS has to protect herself according to Sarah.

Reskin and Roos (1990) illustrate that this is the norm with women in power; they are often subject to pressure that keeps them from being a force for change. The women were asked if they saw more female clergy in leadership positions, such as District Superintendent, than when they had started. They each answered that they had seen a few women serve as DS through the years. However, while this was seen as a step in the right direction, there were several that expressed dissatisfaction with the women that served in these positions. Maggie said:

We have had some women DSs, but they haven’t been women. Well, to me, they were the kind of women who acted like men. So, I don’t know that it challenged the system. I mean, there are a few exceptions to the rule, but outside of those, most of the women that have been DSs are older women ready for retirement. I have to wonder if they are on the way out-they are done fighting. So that’s who we put in a leadership role because we know they will go along with it.

[Associate Pastor, large church, not married with children]

Overwhelmingly, the women felt that their DS was not looking out for their best interests and was not looking at their gifts when he or she recommended appointments.

While they had similar comments about the Bishop, they felt he had even less opportunity to evaluate their strengths in order to know where to send them.

5.1.1.3 Bishop

The women in the sample serve in conferences that are lead by a Bishop. They expressed that they did not see their Bishop often, and, when they did, he did not know them.

When asked about the Bishop, Leah replied with one sentence, “The Bishop-never see him”. Maggie said she thinks he knows her face because she is on a conference committee, “but in terms of a relationship, heck no”. When asked if she has been supported by the two bishops under whom she has served, Martha said, “Well, the first one I served under got to know me and could even call me by name. But, basically, I see the Bishop once a year-he’s a non-entity in my life. He’s the political figure for the church”. Rachael also expressed this sentiment, but she tried to give an explanation for the aloofness of the Bishop: “I think it would be difficult to be too close to people. He ultimately makes the appointment. With so many clergy, it is a difficult position to have”.

The final sentiment that Annette, a senior pastor at a small church, expressed was, “Our bishop [is] removed. [He] only sees you twice a year. [He] doesn’t know you. How can he know what you can bring?” Martha also had a final thought on the appointments given by the Bishop and his cabinet: “The appointments are not given based on gifts; they like to say that and think that, and I think they do want to do that.

But they have holes to fill, and they put people in slots. I don't think it has much to do with prayer and all the things they want us to think. It's a political system".

Reskin and Roos (1990) found that while women had made gains, "within desegregating occupations, female and male workers were concentrated in different jobs" (306). Men often were placed in the top echelon of the company structure while women were relegated to lower positions. The queuing perspective presented by Reskin and Roos (1990) emphasizes that segregation is "not merely the sum of individual decisions but the result of socially structured rankings by groups in conflict" (308). The Bishop and DS, according to the women in the study, work together to make sure the men are placed in the higher positions while the women are segregated in lower, less prestigious positions.

While all of the women articulated frustration with their supervisors and the appointments that were given to women in the United Methodist Church, they also revealed thoughts about their family situations that had impacted the choices they had made in regards to their careers as clergywomen.

5.2 Supply Side Explanations: Economic Theories

Economic theories, as opposed to Reskin and Roos' (1990) model, assert that occupational sex segregation exists because men and women have different desires when it comes to choosing a career: women choose occupations that are more amenable to raising a family while men choose occupations in which growth of their human capital leads to higher salary and prestige. The two theories in the literature review make two predictions. Human capital theory predicts that women's careers will be

negatively impacted by absence in the workforce caused by family demands. The theory of compensating differentials predicts that women will take lower pay for jobs that are more conducive to raising a family. Both theories are applicable to the women in the study that have families. Each of the women was asked how family demands impacted their careers.

5.2.1 Effects of Family on Career Choices

Economic theories argue that women often choose a different career path than men because it is more conducive to being a wife and raising children. Of the women in this study that have spouses and children, their answers do lend some support to the postulations of these theories. When asked how family impacted their career, many of the women expressed that they delayed entry into the clergy occupation because they knew it would be very difficult on their husband and/or children. Eve said she knew she wanted to go into ministry when she was in college, and a representative from the seminary near her college came to visit during her last semester of her senior year: “I got really fired up about that, but I was planning my wedding. So, forget that! You know how people in love are”. It was more important to her at that time to be a good wife. Martha also expressed that she had interest in ministry from a very young age, but she had no model of a woman pastor: “I knew I could do [ministry], but I had never seen a woman in ministry. My parents wanted me to get married. So that’s what I did. I left the church after getting married”.

Martha and Eve had ideas of traditional gender role norms and what they were “supposed” to do as women. They believed they should get married, have children, and

then take care of those children. Thus, both put off the career they wanted at times when their human capital could have been enhanced. While they sat out of the career, economic theorists would argue that their human capital depreciated; this is why they have lower positions than men in their occupation (Okamoto and England 1999).

Once they made their way back to their call to ministry, many of the women still struggled through seminary after having children. Sarah discussed the fact that it took her much longer than most to finish her schooling because she had a sick child. When asked if she had ever thought about not taking a break from school, she replied, “My children came first; absolutely no way I wouldn’t have [taken a break]. Life is life”. Martha also said she had a very rough time getting through seminary: “I took 9 hours of graduate school, worked full-time for my church, and I had a teenage daughter. My husband just decided he didn’t want to work, and so the financial pressure was on me. I had to stay full-time to support us, and so seminary just had to wait sometimes”.

Once they completed seminary, several of the women made a conscious effort to stay in associate pastor or part-time positions. Linda decided early on that she would be an associate as long as possible until her children were in school: “Associates don’t tend to move as often-it was a choice I made. They didn’t ask that of me; I felt for the children it would be best”. Leah also said being an associate was easier on her family. It is still a difficult position, but “associate pastors are nice because we don’t have to move so much”. When Rebekah moved in to her current position, she asked to be part-time which “lowered the salary, but having a child, it helped me in that situation. It allowed me to schedule my [personal] time and schedule my work time while he was in

school...and so in that sense, I was able to rear my child and have a family situation where I was available”.

The theory of compensating differentials argues that women are much more likely to seek out jobs with conditions that ease their parenting load. Mothers, the theory argues, give up higher wages for family-friendly jobs (Filer 1985). Many of the women expressed that they did not mind making these types of sacrifices for their husbands and children. Lois expressed that “I know that God wants me to be a mom first. That’s a priority. He wants me to be a mom and do that right even before I do this ministry thing right”. Leah’s response was very similar; her husband also works as a pastor, and she expressed the desire to be at the same church because of their child. I asked how long she would stay at her current church if she and her husband were not able to find appointments together. She answered, “I have always said that I am not willing to destroy our marriage for this. If he was given a job, and they couldn’t, or wouldn’t, hire me, I would just, I don’t know, work at a shoe store or stay home”.

Overwhelmingly, the women in this sample repeatedly said family was so important to them, and they made sacrifices in their career for their family. This sentiment was repeated by Martha who said, “Women, by in large, go into associate positions because it works with their husband’s schedules and careers, and it works with salary- [associate pastors have] nice salaries comparatively. For women to take a solo position at a church, they are normally going to be given smaller churches with smaller salaries”.

The senior pastor position was not a major goal for many of the women in the sample because it was very difficult to attain and was not nearly as flexible as the associate pastor position. However, it is a goal for Rachael. She desires to be the senior pastor at a multiple staff church. She expressed regret at telling the District Superintendent that her mother was the primary caretaker of her children: “I basically told him that grandma was my lynchpin; I really need to be within a 30 minute drive of [her]”. When she was not given a senior pastor position this year, she said that she has been “advised to take grandma out of the equation. I had a little education over that”.

I asked Rachael how the itinerant system would impact her family choices as far as her career was concerned. She says she is willing to move and her husband knows what he signed on for when he married her. When filling out the conference form that is sent to all clergy, Rachael says that she has “always checked that my career has priority”. Maggie also expressed that while her family was important, she was not willing to give up her career and her aspirations. In fact, she divorced shortly after she entered ministry: “He couldn’t handle the chaos of ministry...but I was going to keep doing this. I was not going to stop. That was not the only factor, but it was a huge factor in our divorce”. Therefore, there are women in the sample that are willing to put their career before family.

While the women overtly stated they felt discrimination by the supervisors was the main reason for the differences between male and female clergy, they do point out that they have put their career on hold or taken less prestigious jobs in order to cope with family life. However, those women that made a choice to serve in part-time or

associate pastor positions are currently in very similar positions to those women that expressed aspirations to move up to positions with more responsibility which concurs with Zikmund, et al. (1998) who found very little difference in the tracks of women clergy with children and without.

5.3 Damaging Effects of Itinerancy

The itinerant system that has been in place since the 17th century in the United Methodist Church created a point of contention for many of the women in the study. The system requires that pastors move churches frequently throughout their careers (usually every 3-5 years). Once ordained, clergy are required to comply with itinerancy. While the system guarantees an appointment, itinerancy allows that clergy may be assigned to any church within the district which can often cover hundreds of miles (Schreckengost 1987). The women expressed that it is problematic for all pastors in the United Methodist Church, their families as well as the congregations in which they serve.

Annette expressed how detrimental the itinerant system is for the pastors as well as the congregation: “In [John] Wesley’s (the founder of Methodism) day it worked. But when you look at the world we live in, there is so much change; people are looking for constants...consistency is good for them”. Sarah was stronger in her condemnation for the system:

The UMC functions on an antiquated, punishing, and traditional system. It does not take into consideration families or working spouses. I say antiquated, I am sure around the 1950s and 1960s, women were at home. They aren’t now. So even when you move a male pastor, it impacts the spouse...For the

congregation, if they really love the pastor and they are moved, that is damaging...they grieve tremendously to lose you.

[Associate Pastor, very large church, not married with adult children]

When asked if she would be willing to move if asked, Rachael responded, "In theory, I am on board with [itinerancy]. My husband's on board with it. My children will itinerate when requested. But in practice, I haven't had to do it...but I am less excited about the scope of the itinerant system". Almost unanimously, the women agreed that the itinerant system is unhealthy for families and congregations.

They expressed that it is difficult, however, for women as well as men. Linda stated that it "is very hard to come in to a church and establish relationships and discern direction and develop leadership in three years". Maggie frowned when I asked her about itinerancy and stated, "I think the system is unhealthy and unproductive. And, you know, manipulated by those people who have power...I wish they wouldn't use the system...as a way of professional development". As these women describe it, itinerancy is very difficult and even punishing for ministers and their families. As soon as they get to know their pastorate, they are moved to another church, and, often, itinerancy results in a major pay decrease. Martha moved from an associate position at a very large church to a senior pastor position at a small church with an older population. When asked about her salary, she stated that "it drastically dropped when I got here". Linda also said that as she has moved through the system, her salary has gone up, but when she accepted her recent senior pastor position, she took a pay cut.

When asked about the United Methodist Church, each woman brought it up as something that needed to change and something that was broken in the system. This

policy, according to the women in the study, is a problem, and yet men and women are staying as clergy in the United Methodist Church. This policy is not new; it has existed since the beginning roots of the church. This goes against the tenets of both queuing theory and both economic theories.

Queuing theory argues that as men see a decline in the occupation because of various reasons, they will leave, opening room for women. While studies show that men are leaving the clergy occupation (Chang and Bompadre 1999), itinerancy is not likely to have spurred this movement. If anything, the women in the study argue that men receive fewer problems from itinerancy because it is less prevalent in the larger churches where men are serving as senior pastor. This should be a perk for the men that would cause them to stay. Queuing theory also argues that women enter male occupations because they are seen as better than the female occupations to which women had been relegated. They pay more and have better benefits and more choices for the women. However, as shown by the quantitative data, ministry is not a career in which most people become wealthy, and itinerancy is a very difficult part of the job. Therefore, while much of the answers the women have given support queuing theory, itinerancy is a challenge to its propositions because it provides more difficult working conditions in a career that does not have major monetary rewards. While the women in the study pointed out that itinerancy was not as prevalent once pastors were able to take a very large church, most did not assume they would be in large churches.

Itinerancy also challenges the economic theorists' assertions that women will choose jobs that are more conducive to raising a family. The prospect of being moved

every five years is not amenable to the schedules of the children or the spouse. If anything, the economic theories would argue that itinerancy makes the job much more difficult and increasingly inflexible. Itinerancy allows no opportunity for the clergy to become comfortable in their jobs. They must constantly be aware that they will be required to move. The women in the study were not specifically asked if they knew about itinerancy before they began their career, but, according to the *Book of Discipline*, itinerancy is a part of the Methodist system, and I would assume they knew pretty early in their seminary training that itinerancy would be a necessary part of the job. This disagrees with the assumptions that economic theorists' make about women and their desired characteristics for their careers.

Itinerancy is an interesting opposition to the theories presented in this paper; future research should focus more on this concept in relation to the clergy occupation.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

The ordination of women as clergy represents a drastic change in the church, and it is not without controversy or problems. Research shows that female clergy face an uphill battle in regards to salary, church resources, and position (Zikmund, et al. 1998). However, much of the prior research was conducted on women in the first generation of those ordained. This study adds to the body of research by including women in the second and third generations of female clergy.

It is clear from this study that clergy men and women are serving in different positions and different types of churches. Women are more likely to serve as associate pastors, but when they are serving as senior pastors, their church resources differ significantly from the clergy men. Queuing theory argues that supervisors are likely to hire from as high up in the labor queue as possible; in most cases, the most preferred workers are men (Reskin and Roos 1990). The senior pastor positions at the wealthiest churches appear to be going to male clergy rather than female clergy. When female clergy serve at large, well-resourced churches, they serve as associate pastors. This also agrees with the postulations of queuing theory. Reskin and Roos (1990) describe a process of ghettoization in which women are allowed into the organization, but they are separated from the men in lower, less prestigious positions. The quantitative data show that women are serving in associate pastor positions more often than men.

Human capital theory argues that women take breaks in their careers for raising children greatly reducing their human capital. This, in turn, creates an advantage for male workers who have more human capital built up because of continuous work history (Polachek 1981). This study found that women and men clergy do differ in their service time (7.61 years for women compared to 13.79 years for men) and tenure at their church (3.33 years from women and 4.56 years for men). Therefore, the men in this study do have a higher accumulation of human capital compared to the women. This is a possible explanation for the clergymen's advantaged positions and better churches.

In addition, the theory of compensating differentials argues that women deliberately take less difficult jobs with flexible schedules in order to raise children. They trade prestige and salary for perks in the job (Filer 1985). While this theory was not directly tested in the quantitative section, the qualitative interviews reveal that many of the women took associate pastor positions in order to raise children. This suggests that future studies should include measures of the theory of compensating differentials to see whether or not women clergy are being relegated to lower positions or they are opting to take the positions in order to accommodate child rearing.

6.1 Quantitative Study Discussion

The quantitative study included 1,000 clergy men and women from the state of Texas. The sample represented an accurate picture of the state of Texas. In the United States, there are 45,108 ordained clergy, and women represent 22.5% of those ordained (GFCA 2006). Therefore, while my sample is only from one state, it does have 23%

women making it slightly more generalizable to the U.S. population. However, I do not have a breakdown average salary, average church resources, and position statistics for the U.S. population of Methodist clergy. Therefore, there may be differences that exist between the Texas population and the U.S. population.

The quantitative study revealed that hypothesis 4 could not be confirmed. There are some explanations that can be ventured from the results. First of all, the data are lacking somewhat in the variables that can be used for analysis. Education is an important human capital variable that should be included in all analyses related to salary, and previous research has included it as a variable. As education was not listed in the data that I had, I could not include it. While I assumed because all United Methodist clergy are required to either complete or being currently working on an M.Div., I know that there is a significant difference between having a master's degree and currently working on one. In addition, there could be implications based on which seminaries the clergy had attended based on prestige level. Chang (2001) suggests different seminaries are more highly regarded than others.

Finally, the analyses would have been more complete with the inclusion of children as a control variable. The data only included the clergy members' marital status, and while that is an important variable, children oftentimes have a different impact than spouses. Human capital theory and the theory of compensating differentials discuss the effects of having a family, not simply a spouse. Children, according to the theories, are more likely to have an impact on the choices made throughout the career (Filer 1985; Polachek 1981). Therefore, this most likely affected the results.

The more variables that are missing from the analyses, the more incomplete the results become. The highest adjusted R Squared value that was reported for the church resources regression was 0.494 meaning that 49.4% of the variance in church resources was explained with the combination of my independent variables. In addition, the adjusted R Squared for the salary regression was 0.448 meaning that 44.8% of the variance in salary was explained with the independent variables. This leaves 50.6% and 55.2% of the variance in church resources and salary, respectively, unexplained. The effects of supervisor bias and gatekeepers (Reskin and Roos 1990; Reskin 1993) are possible unmeasured concepts that could have an effect on differences between male and female clergy.

Another explanation for the disagreement in previous research and the present research is that the United Methodist Church, as assumed by Zikmund, et al. (1998), is friendlier to women than other denominations. Zikmund, et al. (1998) discuss that appointment systems in the United Methodist Church could easily prevent women from gaining equality if in the hands of the wrong people. However, “once a system is sensitized to include women, it has much to be said for it” (81). They go on to say that salaries tend to be higher for UMC clergy, and itinerancy makes ghettoization of women in dead-end positions difficult.

However, hypothesis 3 that assumed women would be more likely to serve as associate pastors was confirmed. This suggests that discrimination, such as the discrimination presented in queuing theory, could exist. Previous research on denominations other than the UMC shows a clear pattern of gender inequality in clergy

careers (Chang 2001; Chang and Bompadre 1999; Konieczny and Chaves 2000; Sullins 2000; Zikmund, Lummis and Chang 1998). Therefore, it is more likely that the data that were available for this study lacked important information that could affect the results. The qualitative analysis does shed some light on the current state of female clergy from the eyes of ten clergywomen, and their observations suggest that discrimination is present.

6.2 Qualitative Study Discussion

The women in the study were quick to point out that they felt discrimination was present in both the District Superintendents and the Bishops that made the appointments. They believed the best jobs were reserved for men and women were simply placed in the positions that were left over; this is much in line with the queuing theory set forth by Reskin and Roos (1990) and the subject of gatekeepers in Reskin's (1993) study. Reskin and Roos (1990) discuss that the labor queue becomes a gender queue when supervisors reserve the best positions for men. The women describe instances where they feel this is the case; the "good" senior pastor positions, those at large churches with support staff, seem to be reserved for men.

There was less concern regarding salary differential; the women in the study did not assume they would make a large salary as a pastor. They were more concerned with the differences in the churches given to men and those given to women. Interestingly, the results of the quantitative analyses reveal significant differences in clergy position but not salary. Therefore, salary may not be the major problem for clergy women.

It is important to note, however, that the women in this study with family demands were willing to say that family often came before their career. Each of the women with children mentioned that they had often made choices that had impacted their career trajectory such as staying in an associate pastor position or taking breaks from seminary to take care of their children or spouse. This is much in line with the postulations of both human capital theory and the theory of compensating differentials that assume workers make conscious choices relating to family. Specifically, women are more likely to choose jobs that are conducive to raising a family while men are more likely to choose jobs with upward mobility and higher pay that are less flexible.

Those differences, the researchers argue, account for women's lower pay and positions within organizations (Polachek 1981; Marini 1989). Therefore, the answer is not a simple one. It is likely that the differences that the ten women in the study pointed out between male and female clergy have many different reasons behind them including supply-side and demand-side explanations.

6.3 Concluding Remarks and Future Research

Overall, the results of this study suggest that there are differences that exist between male and female clergy in the United Methodist Church. In particular, it is possible that both supply-side and demand-side explanations can be applied to the differences in the career paths of male and female clergy. There are significant differences between male and female clergy in regards to position, and this is something that really bothered the clergywomen in the study. Their answers indicate that queuing

theory could have relevant explanations for occupational sex segregation in the clergy career.

This study made three contributions to the body of research on clergy men and women. First of all, it examined a specific denomination, the United Methodist Church, that has been ordaining women since 1956 and has had little research conducted on it. Second, it applied two major theories of occupational sex segregation to differences that exist between male and female clergy through the eyes of ten clergywomen. Finally, it included second and third generations of clergy women which gives a clearer picture of the differences between male and female clergy.

This study, if repeated, should include a survey of the sample that asks questions regarding the past positions and churches that the clergy have served to see if differences still exist between male and female clergy over a period of time. The survey should also include questions relating to the types of jobs the clergyperson wanted and what he/she was given. Another survey could be completed anonymously by the both the bishops and district superintendents to determine their hiring practices and preferences. This data could reveal information relating to queuing theory. I would also suggest interviewing male clergy as well as female clergy to determine the men's feelings regarding occupational changes and the positions they have been given throughout their years in the career. While this is not generalizable, it would give another side of the story.

Future research should touch more on the intriguing topic of itinerancy in the United Methodist Church; despite the difficulties and problems that itinerancy presents,

the ministers still choose to continue with their careers. This presents a challenge to both theories. The supply-side theories assume that women will choose flexible and comfortable jobs and, in return, accept lower pay. Itinerancy does not allow flexibility or comfort as clergy always have to wonder whether or not they will be moved, and, once they are moved, they must adjust to new surroundings quickly. Demand-side theories assume that supervisors will give the best jobs to men. However, itinerancy affects all clergy in the United Methodist Church; it is unavoidable even in the best jobs. Therefore, future research should take this into account when examining the United Methodist Church.

Looking more closely at the ministry of the ten women in this study, as well as clergywomen in general, it is important to applaud their efforts. They have broken into a career that was previously dominated by men, and they are working very hard in the midst of major transitions for women in the church. While the women in this study seem frustrated with the inequality they perceive, they forge on encouraging the church to change and grow with them. They have immense faith and courage. When asked how she keeps going in the face of adversity, Eve summed up the women's journey nicely: "I want to find somewhere where I can give my gifts and somewhere that will accept those gifts. I don't know where or who that is, but I have faith that God will get me where I need to be".

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Demographics

1. Name (Code Number)
2. Phone Number
3. Address
4. What is your birth date?

Economic Theories

5. How did you become a minister?
6. How did your career path progress once you entered the ministry?
7. How does your family situation affect your work? How does work affect your family situation?

Queuing Theory

8. What are your supervisors like?
9. How supportive do you think the supervisors in the UMC are to women clergy in general? How supportive are the congregations to women clergy?
10. How has the ministry changed since you started?

Conclusion

11. How do you feel about your current position?
12. Is there anything else about your experience as a minister that you would like to add?

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